212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent -

[13] 2. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

[113] 3. H.J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[603] 121 With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W.H.R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

612/16 cont./ living together in the same territory (pa'rasangang),
621 whose members till the soil. Two pairs of opposing tendencies are observable here. In contrast to a striving toward endogamy, a much weaker striving to enter into marriage with non-kinsmen can be observed. In contrast to a striving to live together in the same territory, there exists an urge to disperse.

631 The Makassarese-Buginese section of the daërah /district/ of South Celebes is at present divided into provinces. Each /landsdrap/ consists of a number of territorial units, frequently called adat communities /adatgemeenschappen/. Each adat community in turn consists of a number of territorial units frequently called kampongs. The boundaries between provinces, between adat communities, and between kampongs are fixed on maps. This is a situation which anyone can immediately notice.

114 In addition it repeatedly appears in the literature that
●602 the writers are conscious of the fact that kin relationship plays a very important role among the Makassarese. The foreigner observes that a Makassarese not only lives with kinsmen in one house, but also that he has kinsmen scattered throughout the country./17/ But no statements can be found in the literature with regard to the precise nature of kin relationship and its relation to the clearly discernible territorial division, and there exist only vague notions among foreigners who have become thoroughly acquainted with South Celebes, as well as among the Makassarese themselves.

124 Therefore, in carrying out this investigation, it was not possible to isolate a certain group of relatives as an object of observation; the boundary lines were always vague. The only form of grouping which was clearly outlined and which could therefore better serve as a starting point was the territorial one (1).

621 /18 cont./ remaining seven houses lived persons who, aside from their housemates, had no other kin in Bontoramba.

[602] All these people, however, from the members of the Kapala group to those of the occupants of the seven last-named houses, have kinsmen living outside Bontoramba -- sometimes also outside Borongloë, and sometimes even partly outside Coa. These outside kinsmen sometimes live in small groups of just a few houses, and sometimes in larger numbers. Summarizing the genealogical picture of the kampong territory 612 621 /19/ of Bontoramba, it is possible to state that 15 (1) larger

1. 1 group of 81 houses.
   1 group of 18 houses.
   1 group of 9 houses.
   1 group of 5 houses.
   1 group of 3 houses.
   3 groups of 2 houses.
   7 groups of 1 house. A total, therefore, of 15 different groups of relatives over a total of 129 houses. This count took place between June 25 and July 1, 1948.

and smaller segments of groups of relatives live together there. All individuals at the same time possess elsewhere, that is to say, outside of Bontoramba, one or more other, larger or smaller, segments of their groups of relatives. Furthermore, it appears that the Kapala group is strongly integrated, the Mangenre group weakly integrated, and that the Rest group cannot be called integrated at all.

This result displays a divergence from the definition of the related group given above in two respects. In the definition, as we have seen, the emphasis was placed upon the existence of a certain unity on the part of a genealogical group and its territory. First of all, one encounters several genealogical

612 /21 cont./ group. An individual has the choice, in such a case, as to which group of relatives he wants to join, and where he wants to live and work. The genealogical /22/ tie with the other group(s) remains in existence. Knowledge of this tends to disappear after one or a few generations.

574 It should not be expected that one would know all one's
602 kinsmen who live in regions remote from each other. By paying visits and extended stays, the younger generation becomes acquainted with kinsmen residing in various districts. The older ones observe them through this; their character is gauged and their marriage opportunities are discussed. It depends upon the impression made by them whether they will be more or less welcome guests at a later visit.

602 It depends upon an individual himself whether in later years he will keep up the ties established in this way. Thus, while one Makassarese, questioned about kinsmen living elsewhere, is able to refer to merely one or two districts where these are supposed to live, another one, conscious of the fact that the possession of many connections increases his social standing, declares that he has kinsmen everywhere and seems to be able to cite many names of kampongs.

Endogamy

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous means
612 that a great number of marriages are by preference contracted with a kinsman, and a small number with members of other groups of relatives. The figures given below are taken from a Kapala related group, that is to say, from a segment of this group living, and therefore registered, in Bontoramba.

Of the 89 married couples belonging to the segment of the Kapala group residing in Bontoramba, man and wife are related to each other in 79 cases, and in 10 they are not (1).

1. I am following the system of degree of relationship according

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the
602 eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or
[565] else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

593 The Family

Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

592 /31 cont./ Excluding the 23 houses without a complete family and the two-family house in which the two families were not related to each other, there remain 105 houses. Therefore, in 52 + 15 = 67 of these one or two families reside without other kinsmen. In the rest, namely 38 houses, one or more kinsmen lived with the families.

A tendency for a family to live in a house without other people can be observed.

592 ● 602 Examining these kinsmen more closely, it becomes apparent that close relatives are the most numerous, and that only a few distant ones were taken into the house. Of these latter, it was always stated that they no longer had any brothers or sisters, and that therefore they had now been taken in here. After all, where there are no close relatives, distant relatives take their turn, and since there are often more of these, personal preference plays a role in the choice of the house where one settles.

In addition to the respective families, 61 additional persons lived in the 38 houses (2). The kin connections which will be

> 2. The single member of the household who was not a kinsmen (mentioned above) was not included.

recorded are traced from the oldest married couple residing in the house, a so-called basal married couple, regardless of whether the members of the household are related to the man or to his wife. These 61 persons then appear to be 7 mothers and 4 fathers, widows and widowers respectively; 14 unmarried sisters and 6 unmarried brothers; 9 grandchildren, whose father or mother was deceased or divorced; 8 aunts (paternal sisters) and 3 uncles (paternal brothers) of the basal married couple; 1 brother's son; 5 male or female first cousins (samposikali); and finally, 3 distant cousins (kamanakang samposikali) and 1 distant uncle (purina sampopinruang).

592 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40
602 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

462 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes
562 in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

591 /32 cont./ The tie among women who are relatives and live
602 in houses close to each other is very strong. In this situation, the result of the study of marriage residence fits very well. A tendency toward matrilocal marriage is observable.

In several cases it was observed that a married couple with children, plus, for instance, the father or an unmarried sister of the wife, lived together in one house. In such cases one is readily inclined to assume that one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage, /33/ as for instance where the wife's mother has died and the rest of the family has continued to live together with the man who has married into the family. In many cases, however, this is difficult to trace. The only pure, and at the same time workable, criterion for indicating when one is dealing with a matrilocal marriage and when with a patrilocal one is given in those cases where two or more married couples live together in one house, that is to say, where one parental couple lives with one married child. The number then becomes smaller; however, one is on firm ground. Twenty-two such cases were registered. The house with three married couples appeared to be inhabited by a parental couple with two married children. Altogether, therefore, 24 married children lived with their parents.

In contrast to 16 matrilocal marriages, there are 8 patrilocal ones. The figures illustrate no more than a tendency, albeit a clearly understandable tendency toward matrilocal marriage. This tendency becomes even more comprehensible if we also look at other factors.

The reasons given for a patrilocal marriage always concern expediency. As such the fact is mentioned that the man is the only child and that therefore he must provide for his parents; or that in so doing the man will stay closer to his sawahs. Or else it is said that there is more room in the house. If, on the other hand, one asks why the couple went to live with the parents of the wife, the reasons are more vague. It is regarded as a matter of course for which no special reason needs to exist that a man moves in with his wife.

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this [609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The household always constitutes the center of these activities. Male members of the household work together at these jobs. Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

462 592 [476]

By no means does every house have its own plow. Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

241 592

[556]

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

[602] is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

[609 427]

although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

476 602

Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

476
602 /38 cont./ Their sense of belonging together is strengthened by this. A household that is apart from the others can request
476 help from a neighbor unrelated to it, in case of an emergency,
558 but the asker suffers a loss of prestige in doing so. Whoever
609 asks for help from a non-kinsman shows himself to be inferior.
592 A household which exists apart thus very easily becomes lower
361 in its standing; it has a difficult and less pleasant existence than a household which forms part of a large related group living close together.

592 Differences are thus observable between a household which
612 lives isolated or almost isolated and a household that lives in
621 the midst of its kinsmen. Put in another way, there are differences between a small and a large group of relatives, where the household or a single family, as the case may be, appears as the smallest imaginable group of relatives in a certain territory. It seems unnecessary to look for a boundary line between a large and a small related group. We shall here proceed from the assumption that the Rest group consists of smaller groups of relatives (in this case a maximum of 9 houses), and that the Kapala group (81 houses) constitutes a large group of relatives. Three points of difference are then the following:

162 In the 81 houses of the Kapala group live an average of
592 6.5 persons per house; in the 30 houses of the Rest group an average of 5.5 persons per house. This difference becomes understandable if /39/ one notes that in comparison with 7 houses having 2 or 3 occupants in the Kapala group (thus around 9 per cent), there are also 7 such houses among the 30
592 houses of the Rest group (thus 25 per cent). This is because in the 7 houses couples married by silariang (1) live, in many

1. See Chapter III, third part.

592 /39 cont./ cases without children, or only a few as yet. Furthermore, such houses are occupied by a widow whose husband died before the reconciliation necessary after a marriage by flight and by a number of other such cases.
512 There exists a clear preference for kinsmen living together
602 in one house, and an aversion to non-kinsmen living together.
609 In the latter case there soon develops a relationship of followers (2), and that is disliked by those who realize that they will

2. See pp. 52 ff.

be in a lower place. Lonely parents who in a large related group would have been taken into the house of a nephew or niece now continue to live by themselves. They, together with the couples who fled and married, reduce the mean population per house.

582 The number of endogamous marriages appears to be higher
602 in the Kapala group than in the Rest group. In the Kapala group, 79 endogamous marriages were registered (around 89 per cent) as against 10 marriages with strangers (around 11 per cent). In the Rest group these figures were: 15 endogamous marriages (around 45 per cent) as against 13 marriages with strangers (around 46 per cent).

612 It was noted that the Kapala group was better provided
556 with rice blocks, weaving looms, and plows. The first and last-mentioned objects are directly connected with the sawah area. The average sawah property of the Kapala group members is greater than that of the Rest group members (3).

3. See p. 52.

These figures, however, for the moment prove no more than that the members of the Kapala group have more goods than those of the Rest group.

Compared with the Rest group, therefore, we see the Kapala group as the more cohesive and wealthier one, in which

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
602

1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

231 2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes,
556 goats, horses) among the
612 three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

/55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity. Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of
554 relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is con-
602 centrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one
612 hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the
769 other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other.
182 The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

794
114

The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

[113]

1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

[113]

2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

794 796 602

/68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

[622]

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

[634]

[554]

The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

782 /76 cont./ 1. If the ritual is initiated by the related group belonging to the head of the adat community, the basic number of the parappo in the saukang is seven, and that of the other is nine.

634 778 At this spot the ornament of Borongloë, the flag, was unfurled and displayed to the people upon the occasion of the inauguration festival of the new adat community head. The [24 746] annual great harvest festival of Borongloë also takes place here.

Borongloë has its own ornament sawah, which is probably 241 of less importance for the ritual than is the case elsewhere. 634 In other adat communities or in kingdoms, the ornament 778 sawah is the first one in the community to be plowed, with extra ritual each year. Only after this has taken place is it permitted to work the other sawahs located in this community. Up to this date, it is said elsewhere, redeeming of a mortgaged sawah is also permitted. Whoever comes after that must wait till after the following harvest.

794 A summary of the above yields the following result:
602 182 By worship community we understand a group of people who take part in the same ancestral ritual.

Each individual has his own ancestors. Relatives have common ancestors. Relatives therefore may participate in each other's ritual.

Where no ornament is present, several worship communities are always to be found within a group of relatives. Their boundaries are vague. An individual may participate in the ritual in several communities. A worship community groups itself around an individual who occupies a prominent position in the group of relatives by virtue of his personal

794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 794 778 602 In addition to this worship community, there are a number of extremely weak and small worship communities in a group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 182 778 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friedericy, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 582 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 565 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friederic gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 602 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
[554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general
602 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
582 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14,000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

565 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

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/90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group. The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been willing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration of this case, see Chapter III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala married a kamanakang (French: neveu /nephew/) of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a number of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Borongloë, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
60[illegible]

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
554 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
578 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage
602 candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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582
583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages 582 between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and 602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

/103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if 571 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If 675 a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

"The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the 554 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he 565 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the 571 anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

"Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people 571 who from generation to generation had been the followers of 603 one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

571 [607] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

571 631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

571 648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng, able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

178 571 From the data available at present, it appears that in the course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

571 /106 cont./ and subsequently had continued to live there
591 even after the reconciliation. Furthermore, there lived in Bontoramba a young woman, an orphan who had gotten into difficulties with her parents, who lived elsewhere, and so she had been taken into the house of one of the prominent /107/ kampong residents. In the third place, a Javanese, an ex-colonist, should be mentioned here. He had come to live in the house of one of the Mangenre group to work for this person (1). Similar cases are known to occur in each kampong.

[125]

1. The two last-named individuals were registered as kinsmen of the master of the house in the census.

571 Nowadays a kampong head frequently has someone in
622 his house who carries letters for him and performs extra
202 errands. This function is created by the need for a confidential
602 messenger (2). Frequently the head will take a young kinsman

2. In Borongloë the suro (literally, "messenger") has come to have the job of attending to community labor /gemeentediensten/ -- until shortly before the war, corvée /herendiensten/. He does not run errands. This development, however, varies greatly from one locality to another.

for this purpose.

571 In principle, kinsmen are equals, and therefore there
602 can never be any question of a relationship of followers between

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /108 cont./ prefer to carry messages or summon people;
634 others are especially charged with the care of horse and gig
(bendi). As good followers, however, they are at the same
time the ears and eyes of their master. They report to him
everything that happens in the kampongs so that he remains
571 fully informed. They may, in certain cases, proceed harshly
634 if someone commits a discourtesy against the head, for it is
626 also their task to punish a breach of authority in a manner
clear to everyone. Each attempt to undermine authority
must be suppressed. Not to react to it is regarded as a sign
of weakness. In these times of fixed boundaries this is not so
serious, but in the period before 1905, there immediately
existed the threat of a defection with all its consequences.

571 The followers of the adat community head of Borongloë
634 numbered seven in July, 1948. They included, first, one of
his cousins (samposikali); second, a Javanese who had re-
604 mained in South Celebes as ex-romusha (1), had learned the

1. A Japanese word which acquired the meaning of "forced laborer."

language, and had come to feel at home in Borongloë; and third, five sons and sons-in-law of followers of his father when he had been head.

/109/ Another adat community head had the same number of followers, but among them were three contemporaries linked to him through personal ties that dated from previous periods of his life, among others his school period. These ties now constituted the basis of their follower relationship.

The difference between these two adat community heads is clear. In the latter case we are dealing with a head who, for the maintenance of his power, relied, at least in part, on the ties personally created by him. In the first case, the head,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

554 The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
571 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
602 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
634 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

554 According to reports, the number of followers of the
565 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
571 whose previous generation also worked for this group of relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

662/123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[602] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

793 /124 cont./ burial, and grave visits insofar as Moslem ritual must take place there.

602 793 The gurukampong therefore deals directly with the intimate kin-group life, and for that reason people prefer a kinsman to fulfill his function. A group of kinsmen living together in one kampong territory, in addition to the Kapala group, consequently has its own guru (1). In one kampong territory one finds,

> 1. In Bontoramba, the Mangenre group (18 houses) has its own guru. A number of other Buginese residing there are also helped by this man. The others, Makassarese, in cases when they require it, ask for help from the guru of the Kapala group.

therefore, in many cases one or even two gurus working for their own kin groups, in addition to the actual gurukampong. They try to enter into direct contact with the imam. This provides them with an independent position toward the guru of the Kapala group. Sometimes (as in Bontoramba) the kapala permits this. The guru of the Kapala group must then content himself with that. But the kapala and his guru, as well as the imam, can oppose this attempt.

[622]

621 622 666 /125/ Where the Kapala group is not the only one in the kampong but by far and away the largest, a struggle can frequently be observed, even though it has not yet assumed any distinct form. Wherever two almost equally large groups live next to each other in a single territory, the struggle comes more clearly to the fore. An example of this is to be found at the election of a new kapala. Election takes place, according to the election regulation of 1927, by the majority of votes of the able-bodied men. The struggle is conducted, on the one hand, through attempts to attach the kampong residents who do not belong to either of the two competing groups of relatives to one's side, and, on the other hand, by strengthening the tie with the adat community head; or, if this is possible,

622 /126 cont./ kinsman of the previous kapala, is demonstrable. In 7 of the 14 kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë, the kapala changed between 1939 and 1949. Three of these were succeeded by a son, one by a son-in-law, one by a younger cousin, and two by someone from another group of relatives. In the [626] first of these cases, the old kapala was a Sajid /Sayid?/, a stranger who was forced to leave the kampong and the adat community because of woman trouble. In the last case, the new kapala was a distant kinsman of the adat community head. This man had sailed across many seas as a KPM sailor. He possessed a quiet influence over people and was elected without much opposition.

622 It seems, therefore, that the kapala and the prominent
602 members of his group of relatives strive to maintain themselves
662 in their own kampong territory, to strengthen their own position if possible, and to raise their own standing outside the region by establishing ties with equal or slightly higher groups.

634 The adat community head conducts a policy which inside
602 his region is, in the first place, directed at making his own
662 group of relatives into as strong a unit as possible, and, in the second place, to strengthen as much as possible his influence in the kampong where he has no kinsmen living. The latter is done by establishing a marriage tie, or by trying to have a

602 /123 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampung
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
634 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
661 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads
643 or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had never the-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

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648 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

000 /131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

175 /134 cont./ Shortly after the formation of the federated
648 state of East Indonesia, the Makassarese Nadjamuddin daëng
602 Malewa became prime minister. He belonged to a related group of officials living in Macassar and, aside from possessing a particularly keen intelligence and /135/ quick mind, he was endowed with those personal qualities which the Makassarese regard as indispensable for a leading figure.

Each individual with particularly good personal qualities creates a tension in his group of relatives. The tension which the Nadjamuddin aroused was simply of special dimensions.

The unity of this group of relatives was reinforced by the pressure from outside. After the formation of the new federated state, there developed in the ministries at Macassar a silent struggle between the various population groups -- Ambonese, Balinese, Makassarese, Menadonese -- for official positions. Under the pressure of the others, the Makassarese joined forces.

The new premier understandably found no Parliament that was able to comprehend the place ascribed to him in western Europe. The clearly defined rights and obligations, tied as they are in Europe to the ministers, could not be directly communicated here. As a result, the premier again resorted to the ancient Makassarese pattern of government.

Nadjamuddin ruled via his kinsmen and followers, who were active as officials in the ministries. In the Makassarese view, therefore, they constituted at the same time the highest social class.

The idea that this rule would be merely temporary, since, after all, it was dependent upon political conditions, was foreign to them.

The fall of Nadjamuddin as prime minister was conceived by the Makassarese as an impairment of his social standing and therefore also of theirs. The feelings of siri', (1) which came into being through this state of affairs

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/135 cont./ 1. See Chapter 3, third part.

led them to turn away from the other population groups. The separatist tendencies of the time, which here assumed a political form, have their basis here.

Expectation of Salvation

668 In South Celebes expectations of salvation display a number of characteristics which in various points agree with the phenome[illegible]escribed above in this chapter. That is the reason fo[illegible]g them here. The general traits are the following.

[787] A m[illegible]man prophesies that the days of the existing rule a[illegible]bered. All princes, Dutchmen, foreign Easterners /136/ will be killed or go away. Natural disasters and eclipses of the sun are close at hand; taxes will no longer have to be paid, and feudal services will no longer have to be performed (1). The person who makes these forecasts

1. There arose "a commotion because a certain Baso Oewa Taëna, who also called himself Baso Daëng Magassieng, predicted an eclipse of the sun, during which Battara Gowa (Sangkilang) would appear and would marry his daughter to him, Baso. After streams of blood had flowed and all Europeans and foreign Easterners had been removed, a mighty

571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

1:Chabot--244 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

585 788 [114] /178 cont./ van Wetenschappen, Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde, N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/ /New Series/, Vol. I, no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 [593] The person who performs this ritual is frequently the "bride's mother, " (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

● [602 838]

2. The "bride's mother" may also be a man. In that case he helps the bridegroom. Kawe kawe likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla'). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 824 [801] The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but sometimes variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa', 4, loë, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene. The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

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1. These names are rapidly recited, one after the other, when they are used as a spell. They are also reported thus by Matthes. Compare B. F. Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

● [602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward [593] her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

428 588 /216 cont./ 1. The religious judge (sjarat) acknowledges the share of the inheritance which is due her, but in the case of an "ordinary" division, that is to say, a division which takes place without the religious judge, her existence is officially ignored. At the most this relationship is used as a pretext, without being expressly stated as such, to leave the estate entirely or partially undivided.

593 684 627 [539] The first person eligible to act when a woman has taken part in a contact situation is her brother. A little poem illustrates this:

Sari'battangadji todjeng,	Only the brother is the true,
iadji kalli' madjarre';	he alone is the strong fence,
pindu' tjikali	where cousins
naempoi ranggasela.	of the sixth and fourth degree waver.

There is no mention here of the girl's father. He is the one who must give the official consent to the marriage and later to the reconciliation, but if his son does not agree, he [602] gets into difficulties. Officially, all male kinsmen of the woman are siri' when she has fled, but those who take an active part in such a case are, in the first place, her brother and sometimes also a cousin of the fourth degree, or a follower (2) of her father. The boundaries cannot be sharply

2. "His siri' is that of his master," it is said.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed does the danger become real for the woman. She always has
[521] a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion- 576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival 627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always 627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

627 /234 cont./ After the flight of a man with a higher woman, it is practically impossible to bring about a reconciliation (1). In all these cases it was therefore believed that

1. An exceptional case was reported on page 125.

there was a reason for the wife's kin group to feel more than usually siri', and as a consequence reconciliation also took longer than usual.

593 627 The tumasiri' who make the decision in these reconciliation matters that is followed by all kinsmen are the closest male kinsmen, more specifically the father and the (oldest) brother of the woman. In case of a conflict between the two, the father declared in a certain case that he was leaving the matter to his son to regulate. In so doing, he externally maintained his position as leader in the family whom the sons must obey, but in reality it was his son who carried through his wishes. The influence of the woman's 562 mother and sisters is small in these siri' matters. They are 593 expected not to concern themselves with these things. Siri' 627 matters touch upon life and death; they are men's problems. An older woman may at some point confidentially make the observation to one of the older men that by now surely enough time has passed since the flight, but there is no reason to assume that any notice is taken of such a remark. In these matters women merely furnish their cooperation in subordinate matters such as the filling of the kampu, the baking of the cookies, and the preparation of the feast.

627 602 It is said that after the reconciliation great care is taken that all the wife's kinsmen, thus all the tumasiri', receive a number of the cookies brought by the couple. For whoever has eaten of these cookies can never say later on that he was not in agreement with the reconciliation, and this implies that he will not make an attempt at stabbing during a later encounter

602 627 /234 cont./ with the tumannjala. The acceptance of the cookies is therefore the overt sign that one is in accord with the reconciliation.

The limits of the kin group -- in the first chapter it was described in detail -- are vague. It is therefore impossible to include all those who must receive cookies /235/. At best, therefore, one sees to it that these cookies are offered to the houses of the prominent kinsmen and especially to those of leading men. But the individual who is not content with the reconciliation can easily avoid the cookies. The distribution of the cookies is an outward form which has little significance for the actual relationship. Nor does it seem that it had more significance formerly and that we are therefore dealing here with a so-called "outworn adat."

The same applies to the statement that a tamannjala being pursued is safe from a stab by the tumasiri' pursuing him, if he throws his cap inside the fence of the yard belonging to a kampong head or other functionary. People like to tell of this custom and add that this was formerly the case and that it should really be this way. Recent instances are unknown, however. It always remains a moot question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuer adhered to this custom even in former times.

Cap and cookies adats are instances of forms which arise where strong feelings demand formalization. For the actual course of events they are of little importance.

684 593 588 It is impossible for a woman who has fled and has been left alone, for instance because her husband has died, to bring about a reconciliation with her kinsmen. One other means is nonetheless available to her. She can surrender herself to the mercies of her kin group. Thus a crying woman unexpectedly entered the house of her parents from which she had fled about six years earlier. "Kill me if you wish, here I am," were her words. She gave as the reason for her return the fact that she longed desperately for her mother. Her

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A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.

769
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The little ancestral house (pantasa') in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END plate 3]

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He[1] knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala,
bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the
maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are
ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are des-
cendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear
that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even
look different. But he added their women are often prettier
than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women,
however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that
keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc.
might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on
saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the
women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to
touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it
was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added
that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch
in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is
still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was
based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was
impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for
it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for
"noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has
none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all
are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals
and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati
in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few.
They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the
necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed
once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in
weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain
in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they
mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning
the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old
practices.

[1] [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru.
--Analyst]

M 6065 521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no politic[illegible]life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

M 871 178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

M 582 771 178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Mohammedan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number

M ● 602 565 212 601 of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the

M 602 171 Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare, There are not

M T 582 563 771 many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they